113, 60, 61 Monguor AE9

[For discussion of kinship and kin groups among the Monguor of Kansu in relation to the kinship systems of the Altaic-speaking steppe pastoralists, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 312-360.]

Ma /158 cont'd/
606 he is made to sit at the bottom of the k'ang on a little bench during the dinner which precedes the departure, while the drivers of the cart take their places at the table. The bridegroom is not treated as a guest there either.

Mo In the same series of facts must again be classed the presence
601 required of the son-in-law at the home of the parents-in-law when
606 the latter have to defend their rights by force, for example, on the occasion of a suicide or the repudiation of one of their daughters.

The fact that the son-in-law calls all the members of his wife's family by the same name that he calls respectively those of his own family, adding gadin, which means "relative by marriage," is rather significant in itself.

Mo All these facts taken together prove not only the existence of
●60 the matriarchate among the T'ou-jen at a /159/ previous period, but they even give the illusion, both by their number and by their diversity, that the T'ou-jen still live under this system today. Now that is not true. Their social economy is indubitably patriarchal. The explanation of this fact must be found in this: that they practice these matriarchal rites and customs without understanding them any more, because their ancestors practiced them, because they still continue to
Mo be part of the body of custom. They do not find it strange that the
[604] maternal uncle is called the "master of the bones of his sister's children," that he gives permission to bury the dead, that he presides at weddings, etc. It seems completely natural to them that it is he who enjoys these prerogatives and not the grandfather, solely because he has always enjoyed them. T'ou-jen men of letters, imbued with
Mo Confucianist principles, do not examine this question either, for,
[171] they say, our T'ou-jen ways have always differed from Chinese ways....., and for them all is accounted for.

Thus it is that one understands the coexistence of two systems diametrically opposed to each other and the extreme slowness with which one passes from one social system to another among these peoples. This is also what explains the great diversity one encounters in the ways and customs of the T'ou-jen when one considers them in detail.

/159 cont'd/

Mo 60 This evolution is most curious. It moves at an uneven rate in different clans; one would even say that it goes only in jumps. The most commonplace circumstances very often can give to the movement an impulse as vigorous as the most tragic events, and that in all senses also. I quote at random: an honorific title given by China to a powerful tribal chieftain; kin relationships of a notable T'ou-jen with an influential Chinese family; marriages with Chinese; quarrels among village heads; the senseless verdict of a Chinese mandarin who understands nothing about T'ou-jen social organization; regularly repeated trips into regions with different customs; conversion to another religion; catastrophes like those of the Mohammedan revolutions, /160/ which, by decimating the people, were the cause of the adoption into certain clans of Tiberan and Chinese groups nearly as numerous as the T'ou-jen group, etc. One would say that there is very little that is constant, regular, foreseen in this whole movement, ... in this evolution.

Mo 114 This chapter on the matriarchate hence was necessary to make understood a great part of the rites and customs we have met in this study; I hope that it has helped to throw the true light, in the light of which one must see the picture which this study is, on marriage among the T'ou-jen.

/161/ Supplementary Notes

Notes on the Tungus

T 47 The printing of the present study was drawing to a close when I was able to procure the work, made by a master's hand, of Mr. Shirokogoroff, Social Organisation of the Northern Tungus, Commercial Press, 1929. The following notes, taken from this work, will complete our study.

T 51 We distinguish among the Tungus a northern and a southern group. The northern group includes the peoples who speak or have spoken the dialects which all take their origin from a mother language,